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The excellent rapport of our staff with Tepoztecans deserves some comment, because it was in such sharp contrast to the poor quality of inter-personal relations among the villagers themselves. I mention this point here because it has an important bearing upon the question of methodology and the reliability of impressions of rural Mexico. There is a natural tendency on the part of anthropologists as well as tourists to judge people by how they act in relationship to oneself. To do this in the case of Tepoztlán (and I suspect that this holds true for much of Mexico) would be to miss some of the essential character traits of the people.

When an anthropologist with the title "el doctor" and university students enter a village like Tepoztlán, they are treated in a special manner. Tepoztecans are sensitive to status distinctions, and many are eager to cultivate people who, they believe, have connections and may be in a position to help them. Many also enjoy talking with outsiders who are *gente de cultura* (cultured people); it gives them a sense of importance. By the same token, this sensitivity to status made others, who for one reason or another were not selected as informants, envious and even vindictive. In short, I should like to emphasize that despite the fact that doors were opened to us and that we have formed many close friendships in the village, Tepoztecans are not always pleasant to each other.

Early in the project I decided to use the barrio[18] and the family as the basic units of research. The seven barrios were still, as in Redfield's time, important locality groupings; and as we have indicated earlier, we considered the study of families fundamental to our research. The first few weeks were therefore spent in an analysis of a population census of the village which had been made a year before by the local authorities with the aid of the schoolteachers. The census data were reorganized first on a barrio basis. Barrio lists of families were drawn up, and each family was assigned a number which thereafter was used to identify that family. In addition, alphabetical lists of all men and women in each barrio were made, with the corresponding family number after each name. In this way we were able to identify all individuals in the village with respect to their barrio and family membership.

As a preliminary to obtaining families that would represent the various socio-economic groupings in the village, several informants ranked the families in each of the barrio lists according to relative wealth and social position. The criteria used in this tentative classification were the ownership of (1) a house, (2) land, or (3) cattle. In this way we obtained a rough idea of the relative economic standing of all the families in the village. On the basis of this, three families, each representing different socio-economic levels, were tentatively selected for study in each of the seven barrios.

After I had been in the village for about a month, the student assistants began to come one at a time. By December there were five students and a field worker in the village, each of whom was placed with a family in a different barrio. While we had some success in placing these student assistants with families that represented differences in socio-economic levels, size, composition, and degree of ac-

[18] Redfield's emphasis upon barrio differences led me to use them in this way, although they were not as important as I had anticipated.

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484 823 [467] purposes, religious pilgrimages, or political reasons. Tepoztecans know what towns are to the north of the state of Morelos and have a pretty good notion of the products produced in the various parts of the state. Their work on haciendas to the south has also given them some familiarity with this part of the state. Some Tepoztecans are related by ties of marriage and *compadrazgo* with families in other parts of the state of Morelos.

619 648 There is an increasing identification of Tepoztecans with the Mexican nation and with the state of Morelos. The factors which relate the villagers to these larger entities are cultural, administrative, religious, political, and economic.

CULTURAL FACTORS

619 872 Perhaps the most important and decisive of the several cultural factors—the school, cultural missions, books and newspapers, the literacy campaign, and the movies—which tend to make for the formation of a sentiment of *mexicanidad* or Mexican nationalism is the school, where the younger generation learn about the history, geography, and economy of the country as a whole, and where a conscious effort is made to instill love of country.

THE SCHOOL

[648] The school became more effective after the early twenties when the schools of the state of Morelos were federalized by means of a special agreement between the state and the nation. This led to the standardization of texts and teaching methods. But more important, the school personnel was recruited from various parts of Mexico rather than, as formerly, only from the state of Morelos. Since that time, [875] Tepoztlán has had teachers from Yucatán, Jalisco, Nuevo León, and many other states. These teachers have different backgrounds and expose the children to the customs and sentiments of their respective regions. Thus, in the programs organized in the school, pupils have had the opportunity of seeing teachers dance the *jarabe tapatío*, the *raspa veracruzana*, and the *jarana yucateca*.

Squadron 201, the new school building named after a squadron of Mexican aviators who fought in the Philippines in World War II, stands as a symbol of *mexicanidad* to Tepoztecans. The school was constructed with national funds upon the direct order of President Avila Camacho in response to the request of a Tepoztecan who was a member of Squadron 201. Upon the return of the squadron [729] to Mexico, President Camacho organized a public reception and at this time invited each member to ask for what he desired. The majority of the men asked for subsidies for their families, but Angel Bocanegra asked for a school for his [554] village. Because of this he has become a great hero in the village, and among the younger generation has taken the place of the older regional and village heroes of [186] the Revolution.

The school not only stimulates Mexican nationalism, but is also a powerful factor in developing the feeling of being a Morelense. The school teaches the geography and economy of the state in some detail. The text on the geography of

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tury seemed to have little effect on Tepoztecan internal structure. The political life of the village continued in the hands of families who represented a mixture of the old *principales* and the new Spanish elite.

During the Díaz regime the domination of the village by the upper *cacique* group reached its peak, and class distinctions were marked. The *caciques* owned most of the privately held land, controlled the communal lands of the municipio and the local government, and formed an elite group who had social contacts with the elite of Cuernavaca and even of Mexico City. They were set apart from the rest of the village population by their large and more elaborate homes located in the center of the village, their urban styled clothing, their literacy and superior education. Vicente Ortega, the *cacique* in power almost until the outbreak of the Revolution, was a *compadre* of the governor of the state of Morelos, and served as a representative to the state legislature; and other leading Tepoztecans achieved high positions in the state administrative hierarchy.

The Revolution transformed the social structure of the village. The upper or *cacique* families fled the village for their lives and lost most of their wealth, particularly their cattle and artisan shops. The poor who remained also had to leave the village repeatedly, and sought refuge in the surrounding *cerros* when government troops were approaching. Once peace was restored, the families slowly began to return to the village. Some of the *caciques* or their sons also returned to take up residence in their battered or burned homes. It was necessary for all, rich and poor, to begin life anew and build back to normalcy. But they were building within a new social framework. The participation of the villagers in the ranks of the Zapatista forces, the revolutionary slogans of "land and liberty" and "down with the *caciques*" had left its imprint on the psychology of the people and acted as a distinct levelling influence. The political dominance of the *caciques* was gone. And a fundamental economic change had occurred, for the communal lands of the municipio, which constituted about eighty per cent of all the lands, were again available to the villagers. By 1930 the village had also recovered its *ejido* from one of the nearby haciendas, further broadening the land base in the village.

FACTORS IN STATUS

Today, class distinctions in Tepoztlán are much less marked; the former economic and social bases for class distinctions are gone.[2] But there are numerous status distinctions in the village, and the possibility of some future development of sharper stratification on the basis of wealth can be seen. It might be more accurate to describe present-day Tepoztlán as an incipient class society.[3] Sex, age, and kinship

[1] Memory of former class distinctions remains and exerts some influence. The expression, "He is the son of a *cacique* family," was used repeatedly by our informants.

[2] The term "class" is used here in the traditional sense to distinguish between broad social groupings differentiated from other groupings by their relationship to the process of production, by occupational distinctions, income levels, and a sense of social distance that makes for cohesive social groups over a period of time. In this definition I follow MacIver who writes, "It is the sense of status, sustained by economic, political, or ecclesiastical power and by the distinc-

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554 565 are the basic factors in social differentiation, while differences in wealth, education, and living standards distinguish individuals but not cohesive social groups.

SEX AND AGE

562 Sex and age differences are the basic factors in the ascription of status and in the structuring of inter-personal relations. Male superiority is accepted as part of the [593] order of things. Women are expected to show deference and respect to men; wives to husbands, sisters to brothers. Sexual differentials are marked in the rearing of children, in the division of labor, and in the privileges and responsibilities of individuals at each stage of the life cycle. Men assume all important leadership roles, economic, political, social, and religious. The double standard in sexual relations is practiced by men, and is generally accepted by women. However, women have comparatively high status; they may own and inherit property, participate in religious life, and as mothers enjoy an important role within the home.

561 192 [195] The principle of respect for age is second only to that of male superiority. Young people must address older people by the respectful *Vd.*, and in turn are addressed by the more familiar *tú*. The basic age divisions or statuses recognized in the village are five: (1) *criatura* (infant), until about age two or weaning time; (2) *niño* (child), from two to about twelve; (3) *jóvenes, muchacho, muchacha,* or señorita, from about twelve until marriage; (4) *adulto* or *hombre* (man) and *mujer* (woman), from marriage in the case of a man, and after having one or two children in the case of a young married girl; (5) *anciano* or *viejo* (the aged).

858 The infant status is by far the most privileged. Infants get a great deal of attention and care. Notwithstanding the widespread preference for boys, there are practically no sexual differentials in the treatment accorded infants.

[856] [867] [868] The child status is an extended one, and the development of the child is viewed as a slow process which must not be unduly hurried. In the early years the child is expected to learn the all-important virtues of obedience and respect for parents, older siblings, and other adults. Responsibilities and work are assumed earlier by girls than by boys, but in both cases it is generally gradual. Nevertheless, the period of childhood is a relatively difficult one. It is a time when punishments are given, when play must be gradually restricted and finally eliminated. It is also the period of greatest demands and least rewards.

882 The period of youth is the time when both boys and girls assume adult work roles. They are not viewed as adults, however, and do their work under the supervision of their parents. The sexual differentials in this stage are very sharp, and boys have much more personal freedom than girls. This period of youth is generally longer for boys than girls, since the latter marry earlier. Young men, however, may not hold public office or be entrusted with positions of responsibility in the barrio.

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121 554 565 tive modes of life and cultural expressions corresponding to them, that draws class apart from class, gives cohesion to each class and stratifies a whole society." Cf. Robert M. MacIver and Charles H. Page, *Society* (New York: Rinehart and Co., Inc., 1949), p. 349. It will become apparent to the reader that Tepoztlán has no classes in the above sense. However, in terms of the Warner approach, many classes and subclasses might be found in Tepoztlán.

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The *adultos* consist of married adults and heads of families. Marriage is important as initiating the adult status, and it is the most productive one for both men and women. The adults are the most important group both economically and politically and they run the society. If adult males carry most of the responsibilities, they also enjoy many privileges. They may smoke and drink, have affairs with women, beat their wives, and otherwise exercise male prerogatives. These prerogatives are not supposed to apply to unmarried youths, but when young men begin to get drunk and run around with women, it is said that they "are becoming men."

The status of the aged is, theoretically, one of great respect. Old men and women can address anyone in the familiar *tú* and in return are to be addressed by *Vd.* But sometimes the more endearing *abuelito* or *papacito* is used. To contradict an *anciano* and certainly to beat an old man is an outrage; "it is like beating your own father." The status of the aged, however, is by no means an enviable one, particularly when old people can no longer support themselves. Children are supposed to support aged parents but there are cases of extreme neglect and the theme, "I would rather die than depend upon my children" is frequently heard. The old people do not take part in politics and in general do not have positions of leadership. Because of the rapidly changing culture, the *ancianos* are out of step with the times. Many speak Spanish poorly and have difficulty even in communicating with their grandchildren. In some cases the younger generation, particularly those who have been away to school, are embarrassed by the old-fashioned dress, speech, and manners of their grandparents.

RACE

Race is not an important factor in status in Tepoztlán, and racial prejudice hardly exists. Although Tepoztecans are quite sensitive to color differences, there are no distinct racial groups as such recognized in the village. The three distinctions most commonly made are *blanco, prieto,* and *indio.* The *blancos* are those with light skin and light eyes, characteristics which are definitely favored. The *prietos* are those with dark skin. The term *indio* has various connotations. Sometimes it is used as the equivalent of *campesino* as opposed to the city man; thus it may be said, "Here in Tepoztlán we are all *indios* and we get along on very little, whereas the city people are very demanding." At other times the word *indio* is used to designate low socio-cultural status, "el pobre, como es indito, no sabe ni siquiera hablar bien" (because the poor thing is Indian he can't even speak well). In this sense, many refer to the inhabitants of the smaller and poorer barrios of San Pedro, Los Reyes, and San Sebastián as *indios. Indio* is also used as a term of criticism in reference to one who has poor self-control and is capable of violence. Thus Tepoztecans will say, "In Amatlán they are very Indian, if one is not careful he may be assassinated."

Basically, the term "indian" is used to designate social status rather than physical type. A wealthy dark person who dresses in city style may not be considered *blanco,* but neither will he be called *indio.* On the other hand, a rich person who continues

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to dress in the white *calzones* and huaraches like most Tepoztecans, may be called "un indio platudo," a wealthy Indian, or literally "a silvered Indian." Thus, the residents of Gabriel Mariaca are often described as "esos inditos tienen harta lana, son platudos."

The term *negro* or *negra* is sometimes used as a term of abuse. An irate husband may call his wife *negra* or *cambuca* if she is a shade darker than he. But similarly, he may call her *gringa*, if she is somewhat lighter; both terms are intended as insults.

Many of the sons and daughters of the old *cacique* families seem to be lighter than the rest of the population, suggesting that the *caciques* of the Díaz epoch may have had a stronger admixture of Spanish blood than did the rest of the population. However, groupings do not run along racial lines. About an equal sprinkling of light-skinned people is found among the rich and poor, the *cultos*, the *ignorantes*, etc.

WEALTH

The concepts of rich and poor are frequently used designations of social status in Tepoztlán. But the terms are used in a relative way, are not easily defined, and are applied, as a rule, to individuals rather than to groups. All Tepoztecans tend to characterize themselves as poor, and there is no ostentatious display of wealth on the part of the rich. Concealing wealth is a deep-seated trait, done to avoid envy, claims of friends, taxes, and contributions to the church and public affairs. This attitude tends to limit the function of wealth as a factor for social differentiation. And, by and large, the rich in Tepoztlán are not easily distinguishable from the poor.

Both rich and poor work the land dressed in the same white *calzones* and huaraches; both rich and poor hire day laborers when necessary; and men who own property, as well as those who do not, hire themselves out as laborers when cash is needed. Many of the present-day rich families were once poor, and they cling to the habits of hard work and frugality with which they improved their economic status. However, in varying degrees the rich have a higher standard of living than the poor and can be said to eat better, dress better, and live in more comfortable and better equipped homes. But a man's wealth is not judged by the way in which he lives; rather it is estimated in the amount of land, cattle, plow-oxen, and money he has.

In general there is no sharp social distance between the rich and poor, although there is much sensitivity and awareness of differences in economic status. People in Tepoztlán prefer the company of their equals or inferiors, rather than those who are in a superior economic status. But although a rich man may explain the poverty of a neighbor in terms of his being backward and ignorant, he will treat him with due respect.

LAND-OWNERSHIP

The expression, "He has many lands" (land parcels) is the simplest way the Tepoztecan has of designating wealth and high social status. Conversely, when one

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during the busiest parts of the agricultural cycle are considered a good number. The relations between employer and employee are generally characterized by a spirit of mutual cooperation as well as by a recognition of equality of status. The employer usually works side by side with his workers, addressing them in *tú* if they are his own age and in *Vd.* if they are older. In most cases a *peón* works for another only if he receives good treatment, and frequently feels that by working he is conferring a favor upon the employer. It is common for a laborer to quit a job if the employer is too imperious, demanding, or vigilant. Even in Cuernavaca, Tepoztecan workers have a reputation of being "too independent" and sensitive to slights.

There are few full-time domestic servants in Tepoztlán. Women may be hired to assist in households during fiestas, at the birth of a child, or when the mother is seriously ill. Several well-to-do families hire a laundress regularly. The absence of a servant class is in striking contrast with European rural villages and is evidence of the essential classlessness of Tepoztecan society. When domestic help is needed, it is common to call upon relatives and friends. There is a reluctance to hire maid-servants because it reduces the privacy of the home. When it is unavoidable, servants are sought from among the other villages of the municipio rather than within Tepoztlán itself. Conversely, women consider it humiliating to be servants. Orphans or the daughters of the very poorest families seek such employment, and they prefer to work in Cuernavaca or Mexico City rather than in their own village.

EDUCATION

Less than twenty years ago the distinction between the *cultos* (educated) and the *ignorantes* (ignorant) was based on the ability to read and write. With the spread of education this no longer holds. The graduates of the local school and even of the secondary schools are no longer considered *cultos*. The status of *culto* is now applied primarily to lawyers, doctors, and dentists, who live in the city, and to a few local residents who dress in city clothes, write a good letter, run a typewriter, use big or unusual words, and are intelligent and well informed. A *culto* does not necessarily have to be citified or schooled in modern ways, for one of the best known *cultos* is an old candlemaker famous for his study of Náhuatl and for his skill in speaking that ancient language. *Cultos* generally receive respect and admiration, although they are not above criticism if they have undesirable personality traits. For example, one of Redfield's principal informants was described by many of my informants as a man who was *culto* but who was also *chiflado* (lightheaded).

POLITICS

The *políticos* are the local leaders who are active in politics, and as such have a special status in the village. They have many "friends" and *compadres*, and have influence with local and state officials. They generally know how to talk well, and often act as representatives for the more retiring and humble villagers in their dealings with state or federal agencies.

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There are about fifty *políticos* in the village, drawn from various groups. Some are *cultos*, others are *ignorantes*. Most of the leaders can read and write and might qualify for what Redfield designated the *correctos*, although no such social grouping is recognized in the village. Some of the *políticos* are poor, others rich; most are Catholic, but two important ones are Protestant. Some represent the older generation, others the younger. The attitude of the villagers toward the *políticos* is ambivalent. On the one hand, *políticos* are admired for their ability and popularity; on the other hand, they are criticized for neglecting their farm work and for spending and drinking excessively. The majority of the villagers are not active in politics and are called *apartados*. The *políticos* often refer to them as "niños miedosos" (fearful children).

Within the category of *políticos* there are other distinctions made, particularly between the *caciques* or *hijos de caciques* on the one hand, and the Zapatistas and *revolucionarios* on the other. The *hijos de caciques* are the descendants of the "best" families of prerevolutionary days. The term *cacique* is also applied to anyone who opposed the Revolution, irrespective of family background. The term has become a general term of opprobrium used against political enemies, especially if they are of an independent or haughty character.

Zapatista refers to all those who took an active part in the ranks of Zapata during the Revolution. Since most of the villagers sympathized with Zapata, the term "Zapatista" is now limited to those who actually fought with the guerrilla armies. For this reason they generally speak of "an old Zapatista" to differentiate between a sympathizer and a true fighter in the cause.

The term "revolutionary" is less used in Tepoztlán than either *cacique* or Zapatista, and was imported from Mexico City. The terms "revolution" and "revolutionary" are part of the official designations of the political parties in power since the Revolution. Despite the changes in structure and ideology, the word "revolutionary" remains in the titles of the leading parties. In the time of Calles it was called Partido Nacional Revolucionario; under Cárdenas and Avila Camacho, Partido de la Revolución Mexicana; and now, Partido Revolucionario Institucional. Since Tepoztecans have become increasingly exposed to political propagandists, they have come to associate the term "revolutionary" with anyone who works for the government party in power.

RELIGION

The first awareness of a religion other than Catholicism came to Tepoztecans at about 1900 when a group of Mormon missionaries converted a few families in the village of San Andrés. In the early thirties, exposure to another religion came closer to home when about twenty Tepoztecan families became Seventh Day Adventists. The leading figure in this break with Catholicism was a Tepoztecan from the poor barrio of San Sebastián. He was an ex-Zapatista and a local leftist *político* who had been forced to flee the village after the massacres of 1927. While in Mexico City he was converted. He returned to Tepoztlán in 1927, and by 1930 had won

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many families in his barrio to the new religion. Thus, for the first time in the history of the village there were Catholics and Protestants.

The Protestant families were ostracized and on a number of occasions their homes were stoned. The fact that the Protestants were among the poorer families, and primarily *tlacololeros*, did not add to the prestige of the new cult. In the face of the hostility against them their number dwindled. Today there are less than a dozen families who continue as Seventh Day Adventists. They have managed to adapt themselves by continuing to pay the barrio *limosnas*, supporting local fiestas, and not being too strict about keeping their Sabbath (Saturday) when working for a Catholic employer. Though no longer persecuted they still have very low status in the village. The children of these families have suffered a great deal. They are the butt of bitter comments and jokes in the school and have very few friends in the village. Nevertheless, the leader of the Seventh Day Adventists has again become active in village politics and has been accepted again by his Catholic political colleagues. This has meant a departure from Seventh Day Adventist tenets, in that he has returned to drinking and smoking. Now he says of himself, "I am half-Catholic again."

This experience with Protestantism within their own ranks has made Tepoztecans wary of outsiders who may be identified as Protestants. This was further reinforced by the establishment of the Hatch Demonstration Project under the auspices of the YMCA. The church has waged a sucessful propaganda campaign against the project, denouncing it as a Protestant missionary center working under the guise of a scientific program.

THE FAMILY

Tepoztlán is a family-centered society. The biological family consisting of parents and unmarried children constitutes the basic economic and social unit, and is by far the predominant type. The Tepoztecan family has a strong patriarchal emphasis and patrilocal residence is preferred. Families are strong, cohesive units held together by traditional bonds of loyalty, common economic strivings, mutual dependence, stability of marriage, the prospect of inheritance, and finally, the absence of other social groups to which the individual can turn in time of need. Family unity and stability is further assured by the pattern of child training and the nature of parent-child relationships, which will be discussed later.

Some Tepoztecan families work smoothly with a minimum of tensions. In others there is much conflict and tensions resulting from drunkenness of the husband, adultery of one of the spouses, sibling rivalry, favoritism on the part of the parents, and difficulties with in-laws. Even in these cases, however, the negative or disruptive aspects of family life are generally counterbalanced by the positive ones, and the family remains the strongest and most cohesive unit. Moreover, despite the many social and economic changes of recent years and the rather sharp differences between generations, we find little decline in parental authority and little evidence of family disorganization.

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daughter four or five times a week. In the four-day period seven and one-half hours were consumed in marketing trips.

The daughters spend more time than the mother in sewing and knitting and going to church. These tend to be regarded as leisure activities, and the mother does not indulge in them except when necessary because she "doesn't want to lose time." However, she devotes more time to going to church and to other religious activities than this record indicates. Both sisters, but particularly the eldest, have the reputation of being devout and spend much time going to church. Almost the only occasion for the older girl to leave the house is because of some religious activity.

In the daily routine the women of the household have many more opportunities of working together than does the family as a whole. They may work together in the kitchen, accompany one another to the plaza as chaperones, and exchange instruction in sewing and knitting. Cooperation is at its highest in preparing fiesta meals, particularly the annual barrio fiesta.

The division of labor varies from family to family and depends chiefly upon the number of sons to the number of daughters; the number of grown children to the number of small children; the amount of land, livestock, fruit trees, and other property the family owns; and the ambition and enterprise of the parents.

MARRIAGE

There are three types of marriage in Tepoztlán, namely, *por lo civil* (civil marriage), *por la iglesia* (church marriage), and *uniones libres* (free unions). According to the Mexican Census of 1940 ten per cent of all married couples in Tepoztlán were married by civil law alone, twenty-five per cent by church alone, and fifty per cent by both civil law and church; and fifteen per cent had entered into free unions. To understand the distribution of these types of marriage it must be remembered that since 1928 civil marriage has been obligatory by law. Before that time most people in Tepoztlán married only by church, or lived in free union. Church marriage still carries the greatest prestige and, as in most of Mexico, is considered the only true form of marriage by the majority—but especially by the older folk. Civil marriage is viewed as a preliminary to church marriage; the priest is not supposed to marry anyone who does not have a legal marriage certificate. But marriage by civil law alone is increasing. A study of all Tepoztecan marriages recorded in Tepoztlán between 1941 and 1946 showed that a little over twenty per cent were civil marriages not followed by church marriages. The reasons for this trend will be discussed later.

The relatively low status of civil marriage is reflected in the types of people who marry only *por lo civil:* (1) orphaned girls with no family to press for a church marriage; (2) girls who become pregnant before marriage; (3) women who have had one or more children out of wedlock; (4) second marriages; (5) elopements; (6) poor boys who cannot afford a church wedding. In these cases there is an absence of elaborate preparation for the marriage. The couple generally appear

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After the harvest many Tepoztecans leave for the haciendas, returning to the village and their families only once a week. Those who prefer to remain at home spend their time in making charcoal, cutting wood, making rope, or taking up one of the many part-time occupations available.

BY OCCUPATION

Tepoztlán is a community of peasants, merchants, and artisans, but it is essentially agricultural, and over ninety per cent of the gainfully employed are farmers. The occupation of farming has high status in the village, and the young men look forward to being farmers. Farming is not the sole occupation, but is combined in various ways with other gainful activities.

There are at least twenty-six non-agricultural occupations in Tepoztlán, with a total of 273 individuals engaged in them. The largest groups include storekeepers (20), teachers (21), masons (25), bakers (23), *curanderos* and midwives (28), and ropemakers (42). The next largest group consists of butchers (15), barbers (15), corn merchants (13), charcoal makers (13), tile and brickmakers (12), and employees of the bus line (17). In addition there are shoemakers (5), carpenters (9), ironworkers (3), *chirimiteros*[1] (6), *huehuechiques*[2] (2), fireworks makers (6), mask makers (6), *mágicos* (1), silver workers (2), millers (3), druggists (2), chauffeurs (6), and plumbers (2). (See Table 19.)

It should be noted that 186 individuals, or 68 per cent of the 273 engaged in the above occupations, own their own milpas. This incidence of land-ownership is nearly twice the incidence of land-ownership in the village as a whole, and indicates that the artisans and those with special occupations tend to be in a better economic position. Most of the artisans and merchants fall into the middle economic group of the village.[3]

Fifty-three of the 273 individuals engaged in these occupations are women, who are found in only six of the twenty-six occupations and are distributed as follows: storekeepers (5), teachers (10), butchers (4), bakers (2), *curanderos* and midwives (23), corn merchants (9). It can be seen that women predominate in teaching, curing, and as corn merchants. However, in the latter they are the smaller operators. Also, the few men who engage in curing enjoy greater prestige than the women in this field.

The occupations listed above represent a peculiar mixture of the old and new. Some, like the *chirimiteros, huehuechiques, curanderos,* masons, mask makers, charcoal makers, and ropemakers, probably had their counterpart in pre Hispanic days. Others, such as storekeepers, shoemakers, and carpenters, have probably existed in the village since the colonial period. Still others, such as the teachers, bakers,

[1] The men who play the traditional music on the chapel roofs at fiestas in celebration of the saints. They use a primitive wind instrument called the *chirimía.*

[2] The men who know the traditional Náhuatl words and ritual in the ceremonies which form part of the fiestas for the saints.

[3] See Chapter 9, "Wealth Differences and Levels of Living," p. 173.

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Unfortunately, we were not equipped to analyze family diets in terms of nutrition or caloric values, nor to determine the presence of vitamins, minerals, and other food elements. In our comparison of the two weekly diets presented here, we can only point to some of the quantitative aspects involved. These tend to parallel and support the more detailed data gathered by Beals and Hatcher in their study of the diet of Cherán.[10] The "wealthy" diet in Cherán is higher in vitamins A, B_1, and B_2 and protein and calory intake but lower in vitamin C than the "poor" diet. The latter was deficient in vitamins B_1 and B_2 and low in proteins and calories; vitamin C intake was higher because of the greater use of chile.

In Tepoztlán, we find that the wealthier family spends twelve times as much on the important protein foods—meat, eggs, and cheese—and that they also consume a larger quantity of beans, which is another source of protein. The high consumption of milk, in contrast to the complete absence of milk in the diet of the poor family, is important as a nutritional difference. The greater weekly consumption of sugar, fruits, and sweets would also result in higher calory intake for the wealthier family. Although the poor diet includes somewhat more chile, which is a good source of vitamin C, the better diet includes some vitamin C because of greater fruit consumption. The reliance of the poor family on wild greens, absent in the diet of the wealthier family, is an important source of minerals and vitamins.

The consumption of bread provides another strong contrast in the diet of our rich and poor families. The rich spend 28 times more on bread, or 13 per cent of the total weekly food expenditure. This item, which, in addition to its nutritional aspects, is an important indicator of social and economic status in Tepoztlán, represents an expenditure of 1.4 per cent for the poor family. The basic homogeniety of the Tepoztecan diet is deceptive in terms of nutrition and, in all probability, in terms of the simple satisfaction of hunger as well. It is not insignificant that all the children in the poorer family are small, thin, pale, and listless, while the two grown children in the wealthier family appear well nourished and well developed.

Diet is also affected by fluctuations in the cost of food. During the year there are seasonal changes, prices generally being higher in the months before the harvest, beginning with May, and dropping after the harvest. It is in the pre-harvest period when most families keenly feel a shortage of cash. But more important than seasonal variations in food costs is the fact that prices have risen sharply and steadily from 1926 to the present. This rise, more than any other factor, has tended to maintain the traditional or conservative diet in Tepoztlán and to hold back the definite trend toward new foods and greater variety. For instance, although the consumption of bread is viewed as desirable and has increased considerably (the number of bakers rose from 6 to 24 between 1926 and 1944), it is still a luxury for a large proportion of the population. The price has more than doubled in the past four years and is still rising. We find a strong correlation between the degree of wealth

[10] Ralph L. Beals and Evelyn Hatcher, "The Diet of a Tarascan Village," *America Indigena*, Vol. 3, No. 4 (October, 1943), pp. 298–301.

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of those who wear modern dress. (See Fig. 46.) These men have frequent contact with the city, and shoes and dark trousers are more practical for their mode of life.

In comparing men and women, we note some interesting differences in the trend of styles. Seventy per cent of the women, as compared with 38 per cent of the men, use the new style of clothing; the old styles are disappearing among the women but not among the men. We also find that 14 per cent of the women, as compared with only 5.4 per cent of the men, wear shoes daily. Of course, it should be remembered that the only alternative a woman has to wearing shoes is to go barefoot, whereas men may and do wear huaraches. Nevertheless, in terms of departing from tradition, the wearing of shoes by women is significant. In general, women are less conservative than men in dress and have a stronger drive to be citified and to dress according to the prevailing fashions.

The wearing of modern clothing is related to barrio residence. This is more true of men than of women, as Table 51 indicates.

TABLE 51. Percentage of Men and Women Who Wear Modern Dress.

Barrio	Dresses*	*Pantalones*	Shoes (Daily)
Santo Domingo	68.8	37.4	18.5
La Santísima	74.0	52.0	26.0
San Miguel	70.6	46.2	25.9
Santa Cruz	65.1	21.3	3.9
Los Reyes	70.0	17.5	1.7
San Sebastián	63.2	16.6	2.0
San Pedro	65.8	8.8	0.0

The use of dresses is almost equally distributed throughout the village, with the smaller barrios showing slightly less. In contrast, there is a sharp drop in the use of *pantalones* by men in the smaller barrios. Similarly, there are fewer people in these barrios who use shoes daily. The explanation lies principally in the fact that these barrios consist almost entirely of farmers.

Wealth and economic status is only a limited determining factor in style of clothing worn. Before the Revolution, style differences between the upper and lower economic groups were sharper. At present, although clothing is becoming more and more important as an indicator of social status, it is not necessarily an indicator of wealth. The middle economic group, which we have already noted as being the most acculturated group in Tepoztlán, tends to wear modern dress and shoes more frequently than the upper economic group. This was clearly seen in Table 46, p. 176, which attempts to correlate the wearing of shoes with the economic grouping.

The wearing of shoes relates more to the factors of age and occupation than to wealth. The lowest percentage of those wearing shoes is found among the wealthiest, Group III-B, primarily because they are all of the older generation. The largest percentage of those wearing shoes is found in Group II, which contains most of the merchants, artisans, students, and teachers.

The type and quality of clothing worn by children also depend upon age, degree

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291 855 of acculturation of the family, barrio residence, and, to a greater degree than among adults, upon the family's economic status. Other factors affecting children's dress are school attendance and favoritism at home.

291 855 858 The younger a child is, the less effort and money is expended on his clothing and the less significance his clothing has in revealing economic status. In most families, pre-school children are not as well dressed as children who go to school. The only exception to this is the young favorite child of a better-to-do family. A favorite son may be given a little *gabán* as early as three years of age, but most boys do not receive *gabanes* until they begin to go out into the fields. A favorite girl may be given a little *rebozo* as soon as she asks for one, but generally girls receive a *rebozo* at about eight or nine. In very poor families a girl might not be given a *rebozo* until eleven or thereabouts. A favorite girl may receive a pair of gold earrings or a pair of holiday shoes at the age of two or three. Most girls do not receive these before [556] they are fifteen; boys are given huaraches when they begin to work in the fields. Sweaters are worn by children of better-to-do families only.

291 855 [872] [178] Parents tend to keep their school children's clothing cleaner and in better repair. Many also make some attempt to keep children dressed in the prevailing styles for their age group. This usually means shorter, better-fitting dresses for the girls, jackets and ready-made pants for boys. (See Fig. 47.) There is also a definite trend among families with enough means to buy children's shoes for special events and school fiestas. The school now places some pressure upon parents to provide shoes for their children by forbidding the latter to join public school parades if they are barefoot. Differences in the clothing of the children of the rich and poor and of the [554] more conservative and acculturated are becoming more marked and school children are becoming aware of the social distinctions involved. Their responses to the thematic apperception cards show school children to be particularly sensitive to clothing and to make appearance a significant aspect of their stories.

291 511 The quantity of clothing owned varies considerably from individual to individual. Even within the same family there is some variation. In general, youths and adolescent girls have the most and finest clothing, and the very young and very old have the least. In the poorest families each member may have only one dress or suit of clothing, but this is not common in Tepoztlán. Most women have at least two cot- [292] ton dresses for daily wear and one rayon dress for fiestas; most men own at least four shirts, four *calzones*, and one or two pairs of huaraches. The children of the [735] poor tend to have less than this minimum and frequently do not have special clothing for fiestas. In contrast, the middle and upper economic groups have many clothes, and among a few families there is evidence of extravagance in dress.

DIVERSION

796 [527] [517] Fiestas, both religious and secular, continue to be the main source of diversion for all groups in Tepoztlán. Every year the church calendar provides at least sixty-two important fiestas for Tepoztecans to celebrate, either as participants or observers. Not a month passes without a fiesta, and in some months there are five.

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ing the individual is becoming more and more limited, it still offers a relative degree of security, especially in times of serious trouble.

In a more vague way, there is also a certain amount of security felt within the barrio and within the village as a whole in comparison to the world outside. The consciousness of Tepoztecans of being in a position of relative power and superiority over the rest of the municipio has made for local pride and a feeling of unity which also foster a sense of individual security. In contrast, the population of the surrounding villages suffers from a chronic feeling of injustice and exploitation at the hands of the village of Tepoztlán.

Tepoztecans also seek security through privacy. The withdrawal and personal detachment noted earlier, as well as a fear of intimacy, are characteristic of a majority of Tepoztecans. The man who speaks little, keeps his affairs to himself, and maintains some distance between himself and others has less chance of creating enemies or of being criticized or envied. A man does not generally discuss his plans to buy or sell or take a trip, except with persons who are directly concerned. A woman does not customarily tell a neighbor or even a relative that she is going to have a baby or make a new dress or prepare something special for dinner.

If an accident occurs to another's property, few hasten to inform the owner, who may not discover it until it is a total loss. In one case, a widow's pig was killed by a bus. Although it was known that she was the owner, no one told her about the accident. By the time she learned of it, most of the meat had been cut away by nearby residents, and she was left with only the head and tail.

There is greater readiness to commiserate in another's misfortune than to take joy in his success, resulting in a more widespread sharing of bad news than good. There is an almost secretive attitude toward good fortune, and boasting is at a minimum. People in Tepoztlán do not ordinarily advise each other where a good purchase or sale is to be made, how an animal can be cured, or in what ways a crop may be improved. Articles and market baskets carried through the streets are kept carefully covered from prying eyes. Although matters of illness and health are often a topic of conversation, there is reluctance to recommend a good remedy or *curandero*. In general, there is an absence of altruism, generosity, charity, and the spirit of sharing. Doing favors for others is rare and creates suspicion. Favors are generally associated with people *de cultura* who, it is said, do favors to get favors.

When young people or children show kindness or pity to outsiders they are frequently "corrected" by their mothers. Children are scolded for giving things to their friends or for being trusting and generous in lending articles to persons outside the family. Children or others who expect sympathy and help are called fools and are derided. It is attitudes such as these which daily reinforce the Tepoztecan's harsh view of life and throw him upon his own resources.

Security is sought through respect and the extension of respect-relationships. By respect, Tepoztecans mean an appreciation or recognition of high status as demonstrated by the use of the respectful *Vd.*, by the avoidance of intimacy or undue familiarity, joking, and discussions of sex or other subjects of intimate nature. A

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554 571 576 195 person in a respect status has certain powers, authority, and privileges and at the same time may not be insulted, criticized, or attacked. Respect status may stem from superior social and economic position, advanced age, education, or political power. Respect status may also stem from a specific, formal respect-relationship established between two individuals, such as that between parents and children, in-laws, and *compadres*. All inter-personal relations fall into three respect categories, that of reciprocal respect in which both parties address each other in *Vd.*, that of superior-subordinate respect-relations in which one party is addressed in *Vd.* and the other in the familiar *tú*, and the intimate relation in which both parties address each other in *tú*.

The *Vd.-Vd.* relation of mutual respect is perhaps the safest and therefore the ideal relationship in Tepoztlán. It implies recognition of equality of status, and each party is guaranteed respectful behavior and the fulfillment of certain formal obligations by the other. It involves no further intimacy or personal compromise and emphasizes mutual reserve and constraint, which well suits the Tepoztecan temperament. This relationship is however the least frequent in Tepoztlán, being [608] limited to *compadres, consuegros* (the respective parents of married couples), and [593] adults who are strangers to one another. Very rarely, a husband and wife may maintain an *Vd.-Vd.* relationship indicating the highest degree of mutual respect.

Some of the more ambitious younger people in the village now seek to establish [555] an *Vd.-Vd.* relationship between themselves and older people on the basis of supe- [178] rior education or professional standing. Thus, a young man or woman who is a teacher desires to be addressed respectfully rather than familiarly by the parents of his pupils, partly to maintain authority and partly to obtain recognition of personal achievement. In this sense there is a present trend to extend the number of *Vd.-Vd.* relationships and to approach more nearly the situation which occurs in the cities.

The *Vd.-tú* relationship establishes a clear-cut status differentiation in terms of superordinate-subordinate. For the person in the dominant position, this is the most satisfying and preferred relationship. With the exception of the possibility of insubordination or hostility on the part of the submissive individual, this respect [521] status is a very secure one. Age and relative social position are the essential determinants in the use of *Vd.-tú*. All children are addressed in *tú*, and all persons use *Vd.* when speaking to someone older than themselves. Thus, one is in an *Vd.-tú* [602] relationship with parents, grandparents, aunts, uncles, older brothers and sisters, cousins, and all older non-relatives.

The respect of children for parents and older relatives is traditionally expressed [593] by kissing their hands in greeting and each evening when the church bell rings. [178] This practice is dying out and only rarely occurs in the presence of a stranger. In many families there is also resistance to addressing older brothers and sisters in *Vd.* and to giving them the respect and obedience that should accompany it. The number of cases in which children address parents in the familiar form is rapidly increasing. In the recent past, when there was a greater age differential between

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195 554 571 576 593 178 466 578 565 556 646 178 792 793 593 572 171 369

husbands and wives, a young wife often addressed her older husband in *Vd.*, while he used *tú* to her.

The *Vd.-tú* relationship may also exist between employer and employee, particularly if the latter is younger and is well known to the employer. However, if an employer addresses an older employee in the familiar form, it is a sign of lack of respect and is taken to be an insult. When both persons are of the same age and are not strangers, they address each other in the familiar form.

In pre-Revolutionary days it was customary for wealthy *caciques* to address the rest of the population as *tú*, regardless of age, and to be addressed as *Vd.* Today, wealth plays a minimal role in the *Vd.-tú* relationship, in part because of the absence of sharp class differences, in part because of the humble origins of many of the present well-to-do. The memory of the deep hostility and fierce vengeance of the subordinate population toward the *caciques* is also a deterrent in taking advantage of higher economic status.

Men holding political office or political ambitions are generally careful to avoid the *Vd.-tú* relationship with other adults for fear of offending. They prefer the *Vd.-Vd.* relationship, for they seek many *compadres*, or the *tú-tú* relationship in which they acknowledge friendship or acquaintance with most people of their own age group. However, local officials tend to speak condescendingly in the *Vd.-tú* relationship to more humble Tepoztecans, as well as to people from outlying villages, regardless of their age. This attitude of arrogance on the part of the officials and respect for the authorities on the part of the general population is carried over from pre-Revolutionary days, as is the notion that to speak to the local president in the familiar *tú* adds to an individual's importance. However, within Tepoztlán proper, officials no longer dare to express superiority of status to the majority of the adult inhabitants. Only the priest and nuns maintain an *Vd.-tú* relationship with the rest of the population.

The *tú-tú* relationship is an intimate one and is used between husband and wife, sweethearts, and children. It is also used between two people of the same sex and of approximately the same age. However, in Tepoztlán this *tú-tú* relationship does not always imply intimacy, but rather the possibility of intimacy. Thus, it is from the same age group that the *cuates*, drinking companions, singing companions, and so on, are drawn; but for the rest, the *tú-tú* relationship may be almost as reserved and formal as *Vd.-Vd.* In this, Tepoztlán and other rural villages differ from the city where the use of *tú-tú* is reserved for only the most intimate friends, all others of the same age being addressed as *Vd.*

At least among the school children and older students there is a tendency toward urban usage of *tú* and *Vd.*, that is, the custom of having fewer but more intimate *tú* relationships and a greater number of *Vd.* relationships. Traditionally in Tepoztlán, although members of the same sex and age group continue to call each other *tú*, there is a marked withdrawal from intimate relations as they get older and particularly after marriage. The *tú-tú* relationship is undoubtedly a potentially dangerous one to continue, because of the equality of status and the possibility of

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familiarity, joking, ridicule, insult, or attack. Although the *Vd.-Vd* relationship also implies equality of status, it is by no means the same psychologically, since both parties extend reciprocal respect.

In the light of the individualism of Tepoztecans, a great deal of competition in inter-personal relations might be supposed. But this is not the case. Tepoztlán is not a competitive society.[7] Accordingly, a lack of strong drive and ambition for self-improvement and a lack of initiative and originality are notable. Most adults tend to be self-satisfied if they have enough food and clothing from harvest to harvest. Among the young people, too, there is a general acceptance of the way of life: young men wish to be farmers as their fathers are, and most young girls continue to work at home and serve their elders. The rewards they seek are not impossible of achievement: occasional new clothes, shoes, a sweetheart, freedom to attend fiestas, and ultimately to marry, with some parental help.

Most married adults find sufficient reward in their growing children, who by their obedience and labor little by little lighten the burden of the parents and give some promise of protection for their parents' old age. (See Fig. 51.) There is almost no pressure upon the parents by the children in the form of demands for material comforts or for independence. Even parents who do not provide minimum necessities for health and comfort, or who are lazy or who drink, do not lose their authoritative position or their right to respect. Few Tepoztecan parents feel inadequate or a failure for not providing well or advancing economically. Insubordination on the part of the children would have a far more shaking effect than chronic poverty upon parental esteem.

There is a relative absence of concern for the future. Only the minority, who recognize education as an important source of security, save in advance for the education of a son or daughter. It is among these families that self-denial in the present, in order to gain future reward, is encountered—a familiar pattern among the urban middle class. The rest of the population exercise general thrift, but it can best be characterized as spending when there is money and pulling in their belts when there is none. The absence of saving "for a rainy day" or for a "nest egg" is striking.

Young people planning marriage do not save in anticipation of their many needs; they marry at short notice, as soon as there is money to pay for the wedding, the money being supplied by the boy's parents from the sale of an animal, by borrowing, or sometimes by the boy's going to work for a few months until the money is raised. Again, when a child is expected, there is no saving in anticipation of its

[7] Though competition occurs in Tepoztlán it is generally between groups rather than between individuals and, for the most part, is limited to social rather than economic activities in which prestige rather than material gain is at stake.

It is interesting to note that in recent years the introduction of certain forms of competition has had disastrous effects. The violence, murder, and bitterness which have grown out of the new competitive enterprise, such as the two bus lines, and the inter-village competition in the communal forest resources for the commercial production of charcoal, suggest that Tepoztecans were quite unprepared for such innovations.

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More and more women are undertaking to contribute to the support of their families, even when the husband is a relatively good provider. Women traditionally raise a few chickens and pigs, and some now grow fruit trees, to earn money. Men recognize this type of activity as necessary. Some poor men blame their inability to get ahead on the fact that their wives are inept at earning or saving money, or that their wives refuse to raise chickens and pigs because they dirty up the patio and are too much trouble. One attitude, sometimes expressed among married women, is, "Why should I work? That is what I have a husband and sons for." However, many wives try to earn enough so as not to depend upon their husbands entirely for food and clothing, because "the men are too miserly to spend much on these things." The more capable women are able to earn enough to aid their husbands substantially. Without exception, every man who has been able to improve his economic situation since the Revolution has done so with the help of his wife, and in all the more prosperous homes the wives are known to be unusually capable and industrious.

Several fairly recent social and economic changes which have occurred in the village have affected the roles of women. Women have been more affected than men by such technological changes as the building of the road, the establishment of bus service to Cuernavaca, and the introduction of the corn mills. These changes have also affected the relations between husbands and wives. Women began to patronize the corn mills over the objections of their husbands, and the success of the mills was described by a male informant as the result of "the revolution of the women against the authority of the men." The corn mills have given women from four to six additional hours a day to devote to other activities. Since women are not so tied to the *metate* now, they are able to leave the house more freely and can undertake more extensive business activities.

An increasing number of more ambitious married women are now raising animals or growing fruit on a larger scale or are devoting more time to selling the family produce at the Tepoztlán and Cuernavaca markets. However, husbands tend to balk at the latter activity and do not easily give their wives permission to go to Cuernavaca, despite the fact that the extra earnings would be welcome. This type of work has, in the past, been carried on exclusively by widows or older unmarried women who "had no man to control them." Many of these women are known for their promiscuity, and they and their occupation have little status. In addition, men tend to associate going to Cuernavaca with going to meet a lover and do not permit their wives to go alone. Husbands also fear that people will say they can no longer support or control their wives if they go out to work. The fear of giving the wife more freedom, as well as the recognition of the threat to the man in his role as provider, outweighs the obvious economic advantages, and most men prevent their wives from earning as much as they might.

Another factor which has affected husband-wife relations is the increased independence of young couples, who now seek to set up separate households soon after marriage. In the past, when wives often lived for many years with their mothers-in

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and say, "*Señorita*, may I accompany you for a moment?" If the girl consents, he will at once propose that they be *novios*, and he then will begin to send her love letters. This approach is recent and is limited to those with more education or contact with the outside, or to those with courage enough to face a possible refusal or scolding from the girl. The writing of love letters is no longer limited to a few but has become widespread with increasing literacy. Young people who are unable to write well ask a friend with more education to do it for them. Girls and boys who have been to secondary school are particularly sought out as letter writers, and they derive a great deal of prestige in this way. The letters are written in flowery style and are usually copied out of a book of etiquette. A typical letter is the following:

Adored Señorita:

The impulses of my heart are such that they encourage even the most cautious man to commit indiscretion which sooner or later he will regret. Perhaps this will not happen to me in taking the liberty of writing this letter. My feelings are such that I am taking the liberty in order to ascertain my coming fate, pending the day when you honor me with your affirmative or negative response.

My soul is carried to the extreme in manifesting in exaggerated phrases, which are lacking in substance and sound, the love that you inspire. But do not think that because of this I do not feel a true passion for your incomparable beauty and goodness. The proof is that, despite the fear that my petition will be denied, I tremulously write this declaration and anxiously await the result, hoping that my love will be requited.

Favor me, Señorita, and attend my entreaty; and if, unutterable words, you feel a little sympathy toward one so audacious as to love you tenderly, communicate with me quickly and in all sincerity.

With all the sentiment which invades the heart of your respectful and constant adorer

Your devoted servant,

A boy may send two or three such letters anonymously before he has the courage to affix his name. If a favorable reply is received, the boy arranges for a meeting. Any answer but an outright refusal is taken to be favorable; when a girl asks for time to think it over, a boy considers her his *novia*. It is a common sight to see a young boy loitering at a street corner for hours, waiting for an opportunity to get a glimpse of his *novia* or to say a few words to her. (See Fig. 60.) This "cornering" a girl (*esquiniar la muchacha*) is a regular courting practice in Tepoztlán. At night boys often gather at a corner to play the guitar and serenade a nearby *novia* of one of the group. A typical song is as follows:

I come to greet you
With this serenade of love.
May you have no trouble,
My charming angel.

Your laughter or your fear
Will tell me of your feelings.
I am your faithful lover
And adore you always.

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the merging of social class differences,[4] but we found that the Revolution had a marked leveling influence, economically, socially, and culturally.

Redfield presented only the positive and formal aspects of inter-personal relations, such as forms of greeting and the respect-relations of *compadres;* he failed to deal with some of the negative and disruptive aspects of village life, such as the fairly high incidence of stealing, quarrels, and physical violence. An examination of the local records revealed that in the year that Redfield lived in the village there were 175 reported cases of crimes and misdemeanors in the local court. Most of these cases were offenses against persons and property. Since not all cases reach the local authorities, this number is indicative of considerable conflict.

Redfield described local politics as a game, but we found that politics was a very serious affair which frequently led to violence. The year Redfield was there, the political schisms culminated in open violence bordering on civil war, and it was this situation which finally resulted in Redfield's leaving the village.

Another important difference between our findings concerns Redfield's delineation of the social structure of the village in terms of what he called the *tontos,* or representatives of folk culture, and the *correctos,* or representatives of city ways. It should be pointed out that Tepoztecans do not conceive of these terms as designations of social classes, in the sense used by Redfield, nor did they twenty years ago. Tepoztecans use the words as descriptive adjectives, with *tonto* meaning stupid, backward, foolish, or ignorant, and with *correcto* meaning well-mannered, well-bred, proper, or correct. The poorest, least educated, and most conservative man may be *correcto* to a Tepoztecan if he is polite and behaves in the accepted manner. Similarly, a well-educated, acculturated man may be called *tonto* if he permits himself to be fooled by others or dominated by his wife. Within any one family, some of the members may be considered *tonto* and others *correcto,* depending almost entirely upon personality traits and manners.

But granting that the degree of exposure to and influence of city ways is an important criterion in making for status differences in Tepoztlán, it is by no means the only one, and certainly not the most significant one in terms of the actual operation of the many status distinctions in the village. Among status distinctions which were then, and are today, more meaningful to Tepoztecans are those of rich and poor, landowners and landless, owners of private lands and holders of *ejidos, ejidatarios* and *comuneros,* farmers in hoe culture and farmers in plow culture, sons of *caciques* and sons of ex-Zapatistas, to mention but a few.

Furthermore, the concept of *tontos* and *correctos,* as social classes representing different cultural levels, led to misunderstanding of the local political situation. The opposing political factions in the village during Redfield's stay were not composed of *tontos* on the one side and *correctos* on the other. The leaders on both sides included highly acculturated and little acculturated individuals, as did the members

[4] In discussing the *tontos* and *correctos,* he writes, "The periodic Revolutions afford, it would seem, a mechanism whereby the difference between the classes is from time to time re-emphasized and the tendency for them to merge is checked." Redfield, *Tepoztlán,* p. 205.

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759 clientele insist that the seven women help him treat the sick and perform a series of mysterious devotions which he practices nearly every night.

755 The technique employed by Don Rosas on his patients contains an interesting combination of Catholic, pagan, and possibly African elements. He does not deal directly with a patient but gets information concerning the nature of the illness through an assistant who questions the patient. After the conference the patient is taken to a room which resembles a chapel in that it has an altar and images of saints. The patient is seated on a chair close to a heavy curtain behind which sits Don Rosas. The visitor
787 is given an image of a saint to hold while the curandero prays and
755 goes into a trance. When he is "as if dead" an assistant wafts incense smoke toward him and he begins to speak, as though from a deep sleep, telling what illness the patient is suffering from. Whether or not a cure is possible, is determined by a glass of water which has been placed among the images near the incense burner. If the water turns white there is hope for a cure, if black there is none.

755 If a remedy is possible, Don Rosas then points out the necessary steps to protect the individual and his family from the enemy who is provoking the symptoms. The patient must drink a sweet-sour tasting liquid, prepared by Don Rosas and stirred with a metal cross. The patient then pays two pesos for the cure but first must cleanse himself with the bills in the parts of his body which give him pain, and leave the money on the altar. Before leaving, the patient is given additional medicines to take each night and is generally advised to cleanse himself with very hot herb applications. More medicine is given as needed without charge and the patient is advised that the medicine must never be placed on the ground since it would lose its potency. Some patients need several consultations, all of which are conducted in the same manner, before they feel well again.

177 Although he does not hold any official municipal position, Don
743 Rosas is a tremendous power in Tepoztlán because of his prestige
554 and renown as a curer. There is little doubt that the introduction of a medical clinic in the center of his own community did not